The Commonweal
February 4, 1949

# The Economy of Western Union

*Clement de Haas*

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# Function of a Catholic Magazine

*F. J. Schoeningh*

VOLUME XLIX 15c NUMBER 17

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# Next Week

GRAHAM GREENE: The Hint of an Explanation. The story begins: ". . . By the time we were halfway to Bedwell Junction we had found an enormous range of subjects for discussion; starting with buns and the weather, we had gone on to politics, the government, foreign affairs, the atom bomb, and, by an inevitable progression, God. We had not, however, become either shrill or acid. My companion, who now sat opposite me, leaning a little forward, so that our knees nearly touched, gave such an impression of serenity that it would have been impossible to quarrel with him, however much our views differed, and differ they did profoundly.

"I had soon realized I was speaking to a Catholic, to someone who believed —how do they put it?—in an omnipotent and omniscient deity, while I was what is loosely called an Agnostic. I have a certain intuition (which I do not trust, founded as it may well be on childish experiences and needs) that a God exists, and I am surprised occasionally into belief by the extraordinary coincidences that beset our path like the traps set for leopards in the jungle, but intellectually I am revolted at the whole notion of such a God who can so abandon his creatures to the enormities of Free Will. I found myself expressing this view to my companion, who listened quietly and with respect . . . "

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The
# COMMONWEAL

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## *The Fall of China*

DISASTER has swept down to the Yangtze River in Central China and dispersed Chiang Kai-shek and the recognized Government of the Republic of China. It is disaster on the largest human scale, striking the most populous nation on earth. It is a tremendous, dizzying victory for Communism.

In the first, feverish flush of anarchy, as the surrender of North China was worked out, there was an undoubted and inevitable release of tension. The battles of armies were interrupted, and the rules and regulation and police force of an established government were relaxed. Unfortunately the relaxation which the victory of the Chinese Communist armies and régime have speciously brought to the immense areas and populations given up by the National Government will be followed very quickly by a new tension. The struggle for the imposition of the Communist rule and viewpoint upon 450,000,000 Chinese and on all the rest of the world, is not ended by the fall of those Kuomintang armies.

There is, first of all, South China, and the Chinese; and Chiang himself, temporarily immobile at the tombs of his ancestors. We do not know what he means by his enigmatic message of departure and we do not know what several hundred million Chinese intend to do. We do not know what he and they can do. Then probably second, in the weighing of material forces of action, we do not know what the Government of the United States plans to do. The fate of China cannot be decided before this country takes a positive or negative decision toward oriental affairs, and toward the affair of Communism over Asia.

There is much talk about a mixed government in China, about a coalition government to include various sorts of "left liberals" along with the Communists. In the circumstance of China now, and we do not know for how long past, such talk appears to us deceptive dreaming. The character of the Chinese "third party Left Wingers," and their relationship to the Communists was brought out clearly in the January 24 dispatch to the *Times*: "Like the Communists, these third party Left Wingers charged that Nanking's peace pronouncements were engineered by the United States as a plot to steal the fruits of a Communist victory. They termed the Government's advocacy of peace a 'hypocritical peace offensive' and demanded that this alleged offensive be 'crushed.' They called for carrying the revolution 'to the end' to avoid the intrusion of 'reactionary bacteria.' They said: 'We wish, united under the leadership of the Communist party of China, to exert our humble efforts in the course of the people's liberation war to work together for the swift success of the Chinese people's democratic revolution and the early realization of an independent, free, peaceful, happy, new China.' "

A release from the Maryknoll Missioners breathed a different atmosphere. The Very Rev. Thomas S. Walsh, Vicar General of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, made the following points:

"Acting in accordance with the traditions of the Church and the wishes of the Holy See as expressed by Archbishop Riberi, Papal Internuncio to China, it is the intention of Maryknoll to continue its missionary work in China with its present personnel unless forcibly obliged to stop. . . .

"In the 139 dioceses and prefectures in China today there are three and a half million Catholics being cared for by 2,500 Chinese priests and 3,000 foreign priests. In addition, there are some 8,000 Sisters and Brothers at work, almost half of them foreigners. It is the wish of these missioners to be allowed to remain at their posts. In a recent letter from Shanghai, Bishop James E. Walsh, former Superior General of Maryknoll, wrote us, 'I do not know what will happen when the Communists arrive, but I intend to remain here as long as the Holy See permits. After all, the Communists need to be converted too.'



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"What the policy of the Communists will be when they have gained complete control of China is not certain. Judging from past acts in areas already controlled by the Reds, the Christian Church will be severely hampered. To date over a hundred priests, Brothers and Sisters have been put to death. . . .

"The Catholics of China will be in need of spiritual help, and most Chinese will be in need of physical help, no matter who controls the government. It is the duty of the Church to care for these people as long as possible."

### *CVA*

THE West was enormously influential in putting Harry Truman back into the White House, and it is asking for, and going to get, its pound, not of meat, but of water. Just as the Solid South, the dear, democratic South that swept Roosevelt and the New Deal in over the dust of the depression, got its TVA, so the West will have its CVA.

The elementary conflict, Government *vs.* the Utilities, is already out of date, yesterday's doornail. It is all very well for Mr. Hillman Luedemann, Chairman of the Portland, Oregon, Chamber of Commerce, to say "it's one thing to ask for assistance from the Federal Government in developing the basin, but it is quite another to be told by the Federal Government how we should develop it," for to most people today the distinction is not quite so obvious, and many of us learned in kindergarten an old saw about paying the piper and calling the tune.

There are, residually, more fundamental conflicts. "Lands are ruled by a king on his throne, but the sea has no king but God alone," wrote Rossetti. But who owns a river? who, for example, should be punished for pollution? And by whom? The River Thames is so filthy now that sea-birds perish from the foulness on their wings, fish have been wholly exterminated, and small Etonians have to use the Slough swimming pool for a water-hole. Who should be flogged?

Since the first four rivers flowed out of Eden, the ownership of earth's arteries has been questioned. "Under state laws," righteously cries Mr. Smith, President of the National Association of Electric Companies, "the water rights are vested in the people, and a CVA would jeopardize such rights."

Would they? Who is he to say? What about the millions of beneficiaries of TVA? Would they agree?

Why not ask them? Why not, on such subjects, have local referenda? We, the people, amorphous though we sound when so categorized, are most articulate on paper. As the Kinsey report showed (if it showed nothing else) we love to be asked, and to answer, questions. Why not as a trial balloon send every voter in Oregon, Washington, Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming a questionnaire: which are you for: CVA or NAEC? X marks the spot where Dr. Gallup gagged.

### *While There Is Yet Hope*

IN HIS inaugural address, the President spoke almost exclusively of foreign policy; he stressed four points and these were: support of the North Atlantic Security Plan, of the European Recovery Program, of the United Nations, and of "a bold new program for the improvement of under-developed areas." Domestic affairs, in the term of the 32nd Presidency, are to be secondary and subservient to the foreign rôle the United States must play in a world divided and in struggle between the nations of Western culture and those under Russian totalitarianism. The issue of this struggle is, quite simply, either war or peace between the United States and Russia. Whether Mr. Truman's message was a warmaking one, or a peaceful one, has consequently been the center of most dispute.

Reactions have been divided. Mr. Wallace, to whom almost any non-appeasement is distasteful, promptly called it warmaking; others said that Mr. Truman was over-extending the physical resources of this country in a sweeping plan to Americanize the world; most observers, however, have found in the address the groundwork of a constructive world-policy to oppose communism primarily in the fashion of the European Recovery project, backed up realistically by military preparedness. The emphasis on military power is secondary; basically, the President was putting his faith and American resources totally behind a critical and constructive plan of "getting there first" with more and better material and technical aid than the Russians. Ultimately, he hopes that this policy will, in practical accomplishment, remove the conditions of privation and backwardness which make political, violent and dictatorial revolutions attractive and expedient.

There are those who will say that the President's hopes are romantic and illusory. For there has always been a considerable body of opinion, East and West, to the effect that war between Western democracy and Russian Communism is inevitable. And it may be.

If it is, then it is only a matter of time, only a matter of the disappearance, perhaps of the atomizing, of one or the other from the face of the earth. If, however, Russian Communism can be met and mastered, in an aggressive plan of spiritual and material regeneration and construction, if one believes that we can indeed get there first, then the President's message is surely one with peaceful intentions. The strain on our economy, on our resources, our generosity, our skill, however great, will be worth the burden and the effort.

To say that war is inevitable is to be without hope for peace. To have hope is to do all that is

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possible, in the face of whatever opposition, to avoid war, and this, we believe, is the responsibility to which President Truman has directed all of us. He said: "Today marks the beginning not only of a new administration but of a period that will be eventful, perhaps decisive, for us and for all the world."

# Colonial Swan Song

NOTHING better demonstrates the doom that faces the vestiges of colonialism than the beautiful Dutch East Indies. For the system there embodied a preponderance of elements favorable to continuing success. The Dutch themselves have proved to be the most skillful exploiters of natural resources and of native peoples; they have been most adept at maintaining a state of helpless subjugation. While the peoples of these islands are among the most docile and tractable in the world.

The result of such a confrontation was described by a Dutch Governor General in the 1930's: "We have ruled here for three hundred years with the whip and the club, and we shall still be doing it in another three hundred years."

One instrument of restraint is the education system which barred the Indonesians themselves (although not those of mixed race) from the free Dutch schools. Until recently literacy stood at 7 percent, a figure rather typical of the Orient. Because of their enforced backward state there has been little progress toward self-government.

Since the war the Indonesians have been living under a blockade. Education, political activity and the like have been impeded by the insurgents' inability to procure paper and printing presses as well as many basic material necessities. The Indonesian Republic did succeed in quashing a Communist uprising, but such subversive elements are still included as component groups among those now resisting the Dutch forces.

The contrast between the political and economic deficiencies of the native government and the despatch with which Dutch landing parties last December seized strategic points and native leaders is tremendous. On first glance the contest seemed to be a pushover, with intervention from abroad the islanders' only problematic hope.

Yet despite all these and many other advantages, it now seems that, even if international intervention is not forthcoming, the Dutch will not be able to retain adequate control. The native troops have taken to the hills; they are already embarked upon a campaign of scorched earth, guerilla raids and other sabotage which is creating a state of chaos in Indonesia. Even the main roads are not safe. Native "wild schools" have taken up the burden of education and have, since 1945, raised the degree of literacy to 12 percent. A rice stalk substitute has been found for paper, while blackboards—as in American schools—play a big rôle in fostering literacy.

Furthermore, the determination of the Indonesians to end their colonial tutelage is buoyed up by support from all their immediate and distant neighbors. Their plight was sufficient, as no other Asiatic problem was, to bring together the twenty Afro-Asiatic lands constituting the Delhi conference and resulting in a powerful joint appeal to the United Nations for forced withdrawal of the Dutch—a series of resolutions milder in scope and tone than had been expected but more outright and forceful than the similar proposal put to the Security Council by the United States, China, Cuba and Norway. Even the Dutch recognize that the old Indonesian days are numbered.

The point here is not to castigate the Dutch, among other colonial powers, for their past and present iniquities. Or to hold out lush hopes that even with Marshall-type aid and all sorts of expert missions, Java, Sumatra and the rest will achieve a triumph of maintaining order and gaining a livelihood. It is rather to point to the rather obvious fact that the colonial peoples of Asia, particularly, have reached a certain historic stage. During the past quarter century the Orient has been undergoing the most cataclysmic changes in outlook and ways of living. Japan herself, the great exponent of "Asia for the Asiatics," was a decidedly westernizing influence, as well as an instigator, as the Soviets are, of colonial unrest. Philippine independence is achieved. The propaganda for the Four Freedoms aroused the greatest hopes among the Asiatic peoples. There is the stupendous example of India. The desire of Orientals to be free of white overlordship is universal.

So that American foreign policy has to take into account that indisputable fact. It must recognize the resentment aroused by concentration of military and economic aid in Japan and the basic weakness of the French position in Indonesia—whether or not the former emperor, Bao Dai, agrees to carry the standard against Ho Chi Minh and his Viet Nam Communists. With the defeat of Chiang it is all the more important to face things squarely.

The national aspirations of the colonial peoples of the Orient have to be weighed against our stake in Europe and the fate of such friends and colonial powers as France and Holland. But with the Communist advance in Asia and the determination of these peoples to be free, nothing could be more mistaken than American cooperation or even acquiescence in footless efforts to prolong colonial subjection. Political and economic independence must be taken as a starting point of policy, the only real question being what sort of a period of transition will make native political sovereignty, together with native industry and trade, a bulwark of national stability.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN.

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# *The Function of a Catholic Periodical*

*Franz Josef Schoeningh*

THE FIRST and most important objective for a Catholic periodical is to be Catholic. This may, indeed, sound like a tautological statement, but looking at it a little more closely, we realize that it is not, since even among Catholics it is not always quite clear what "Catholic" means. An American Catholic told me that among some groups in the United States, it is possibly only very exceptionally known that Christ died for all men, died also for Protestants and unbelievers. He thought it most probable that a layman presenting such a thesis would hardly be called a real Catholic. That Christ died for all men would, it is true, be accepted without comment in an abstract sense, but in its practical application to disliked groups it would certainly be met with an inner rejection. And we, can we smile at this? Or is it not true that we also have to repudiate a natural inclination, and must realize that this repudiation must be of extraordinary consequence for every editor of every periodical, and that it ought to be inscribed on our bannerline like an invisible motto. As Claudel says, in *The Satin Slipper**:

> "We are not everything between our four walls.
> "It is all very fine for you to shut up everything to come to understandings among yourselves. You cannot shut out that greater part of humanity which you have agreed to do without and for which, after all, Christ died."

This then, is the first thing which should be required of a Catholic periodical: that, basically, it should not suggest to the non-Catholic, or even to the non-believing reader, that it is only written for the chosen, so to speak, for the saved, but also for all the others who do not yet live in the truth, but who still search for it. It is not quite easy to explain this difference to those who regard Catholicism as party politics, and who therefore from the beginning take a particularist and a polemical attitude. Perhaps it would be a good thing if we avoided the word Catholicism altogether, because that makes it look like an -ism, while the very idea of the Catholic Church, as such, should make it difficult from the beginning to represent Catholicism as a party matter. This is the more commendable since a deep longing can be found in the German character, especially today in the German youth, to find general and binding values instead of the terribly dusty party spirit. Therefore, it would be of the utmost importance to them if they could find true Catholicity, instead of this "ism" which, whether it manifests itself defensively or aggressively, is not universally a Catholic attitude in the highest sense.

Of course, we do not recommend the taking of a wishy-washy position, nor the befuddling of the content of the Faith; on the contrary, we recommend its accentuation, but an accentuation of the whole, to which also belongs the living knowledge that Christ died for all men, and that therefore, if we love Christ, we must love also those men who, deliberately or ignorantly, are outside the Church. And that means, at the same time, that a Catholic periodical must never have a complacent tone, nor a condescending or pharisaical undertone, towards those who are not in possession of the truth—the truth that we ourselves have often merely inherited, instead of having ourselves acquired in order to possess it. For a Catholic periodical, too, has to search for that truth, which is its prerequisite.

This search for truth is especially important in the present situation in Germany, which requires of us a heightened awareness and a careful scrutiny of all the methods employed hitherto, especially in apologetics. Most of the Catholic periodicals here formerly derived their tone from a closed Catholic sphere; they were concerned with readers whose unchallenged opinions had only to be underlined.

This situation has fundamentally changed. Already, National Socialism has furthered to the greatest possible extent "Binnen Wanderung" (dis-orientation) even among non-Christians and those with non-denominational viewpoints. Then also the war united the younger generation at the front without taking into consideration their religious affiliations. Finally, the army of the millions of DP's has created for all creeds everywhere an almost total diaspora. If one observes closely, it may be noted that today in formerly Catholic, and still Christian, regions, not only believers in other forms of Christianity have im-

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* Translation by Rev. John O'Connor. *The Satin Slipper.* Sheed & Ward.

*Franz Josef Schoeningh is the editor of the German publication,* Hochland. *Presented here is a recent address of his setting forth what he believes to be the job and the responsibility of a Catholic periodical and press in these times. During February, annually Catholic Press Month in this country, his remarks have a particular timeliness.*



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migrated suddenly, almost overnight, but also that completely unbelieving elements have penetrated. Today, the tradition of the Fathers and the morale in formerly good Catholic peasant houses is endangered. I could give many examples of this. In the cities, of course, the peril is much greater. This seems to me to call for a new form of apologetics, notably a transition from the defensive to the offensive, in such a way that apologetics in the narrower sense is to be replaced by the idea of missionary work. Formerly, it was the custom of apologetics to answer one by one those present-day errors which had fanatical adherents, by bringing in proofs to the contrary, or by contradicting dangerous temporal phenomena by historical arguments. For instance, under the dictatorship, to point to the fact even in sermons that a Napoleon himself had died in the Catholic faith, was made under the increasingly unconvincing assumption that it was persuasive apologetics to boast that we also have our generals, we also have our war pilots, also our captains of industry. The present situation demonstrates sufficiently how weak, how internally hollow, was all such apologetics. Today, in Western Europe, we are not facing, at least for the time being, any really militant heresy, nor the deification of worldly values that have been prevalent for the past twelve years, but we are facing the terrible phenomenon of disbelief in its profoundest sense, of the nihilism as prophesied by Nietzsche, and it is high time that we arm ourselves against it, instead of clinging to outdated methods. Faith in science is abolished, the sanctification of political figures has temporarily abated, the idea of progress has been compromised.

The Catholic periodical in Germany should proceed upon these accepted assumptions, and moreover, should ask itself how best it could fill the vacuum which has been created. First, by visualizing the religious situation of the world with the greatest possible accuracy, especially in Germany, and by not continuing in the old style just in order to defend that which no one attacks any more. Instead of this, it should tackle the problem of how the spirit of Catholicity can best be represented now in all its wealth and in its universal content. Therefore, as I have already stated, the deletion of any spirit of party is essential. It would be deplorable, indeed, if such an opportunity, as is now offered to us in the misery of this great hour, were to be missed. And if our periodicals should advocate something other than the real business of Christ, such as party spirit, this is the more tragic, since the echo which any party now evokes in the hearts of the population is extremely feeble.

This attitude also is the true one in the controversy between East and West. John Foster Dulles and Joseph Hromadka's lectures in Amsterdam are good examples in this direction, emphasizing that Christ belongs not only to the West, and that it is very far from possible to identify Him with Western Christendom. But here also we must not advocate wishy-washy positions. On the contrary, and this is very clear, we will emphasize the Christian power of distinguishing, which sees through the Christian window dressing of the monolithic interests, and which rejects each and every phenomenon wherever it may be found, be it opportune, be it inopportune, which in its essentials is in opposition to the cause of Christ. With this we say at the same time, that Christ has to be the center of a Catholic periodical, even when this is not immediately apparent. A Catholic periodical can be principally concerned with questions of public life, which do not immediately impinge on religious life, but the reader who has a sense of the real Christ must feel that all thoughts are formed as if under His eyes, towards Him and from Him. In such a spirit, assurance will be given that the periodical knows an all-embracing Catholicity. Furthermore, a guarantee must be given that criticism of Church officials will be misunderstood only by those who indiscriminately identify institutional and human elements of the Church with Catholicity itself. In this connection we would like to mention that it would be wrong to ask from each Catholic periodical that it leaves uncriticized specifically ecclesiastical matters, because this attitude is just part of the outdated spirit of the defensive attitude, which shuts itself up in a ghetto, and which is trying to build up a showy but unreal facade. The spirit, however, which ought today to inspire all Catholic periodicals ought to be a spirit of conquest, arising from the truly Catholic spirit of imperturbability, which has no reason to conceal the obvious deficiencies of the visible body of Christ. As a matter of fact, God did not permit the Goebbels "morality trials" in order that they might be forgotten in a brief ten years. It seems to me perfectly inconceivable that we should be worried about this, since we belong to a church of sinners which says on every occasion *mea culpa,* and not to a church which only consists of saints and the just. If, therefore, in a Catholic periodical, representatives of the Church are criticized, this might, in fact, under certain circumstances, prove the real Catholicity of the journal, provided always that, as mentioned before, the Christ of the Catholic Church forms the periodical's focus.

★

This focus also will prevent any idea of the merely interesting, or the merely sensational, from becoming the prevailing tone, a danger to which some contemporary publicity is exposed in a special measure; however, it would be catas-

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trophic for the effect of our periodical if it would exclude the category of the interesting, and would allow only the principles of the old truth to lead them. Mark well, merely the old truth, alone. Truth, of course, is always interesting. But a periodical has the duty of looking for it in its own time, there where it is attacked or challenged or concealed or lost. In other words, the editor of a Catholic periodical has to live in his time, conscious of, and accepting the dangers which are peculiar to his time, in order not only to discuss the questions posed by his time, but also to experience them inwardly. A newspaper—I exclude trade papers, although only up to a point—is irretrievably lost when it is made to fit the green table. If it wishes to soothe in any way, it can only do so to the extent to which it has itself been disturbed. In a time of chaos, such as the present, voices from the ivory tower do not reach the rudderless hearers, rather, such voices, if they are to be effective, must convey the impression that they are calling from a stormy sea. Then again, I must say in modification that, if a periodical is to have any influence, a quiet inner conviction must simultaneously be manifest, which should not at any time be sacrificed to the currents of the time. I should like to advise the editors of any Catholic newspaper, when they are preparing an article, to consider for a moment how much of it will be worth reading after ten years. A Catholic paper in which almost nothing would be valid or worth reading then would, in my opinion, have failed in its task. Perhaps it should be topical, but at the same time its genuine perspective derives from the existence of a rightly comprehended Catholicity.

*

To this perspective also belongs a proper relationship with history. Catholic Christianity is always revolutionary, or should be, if it is fulfilling its function. But it is at the same time conservative, because it has developed itself in history, and never, at any moment, has denied any of the stages of its development. From this stems the duty, for Catholics, not to deny the historical basis for their existence, but to meet this with their piety, even if it requires criticism. A justifiable desire for the revision of our conception of history includes the desire for a purified conception, but this must not be a purely academic task. It must also be an emotional undertaking, for every people needs the historical inheritance of its native soil, in order not to become estranged from its own existence. And it appears to me that Catholic newspapers in Germany today have the duty to rescue the positive elements of German history from the ruins and to restore them to life. Over and above this, of course, it will also be its duty to highlight the interdependence of the Western peoples, as this can also influence the political form of the present. This does not, it is quite obvious, exonerate anyone from the task of facing the future with a clear gaze, but without this proper respect for history a periodical tends towards historicity, and threatens to reduce itself to a catalogue of antiques. We are called to this work by our present position which, so far as our external situation goes, can only be made tolerable by the hope of a better future.

It would be difficult to name another people with a long and great history, the living foundations of which have been narrowed and partly destroyed overnight, and the whole structure of whose life has been shattered so deeply, as has been the case with our people. In this fact, however, is included simultaneously a promising possibility: that is, the possibility of a better structure of the social order. This possibility enables us to overcome the Utopian basis of the various "isms," to create an economic order which is determined by dire necessity, and by the idea of social justice. To me, realism seems to be the only possible "ism." The Catholic periodical should be concerned with keeping itself free from so-called ideologies; it should not allow itself to see the social encyclicals of the Popes stiffen into ideologies. Nell-Breuning's warning on this score in *Stimmung der Zeit* is to be noted in this connection, and we ought to look forward free of prejudices and of wrongly understood traditions. We should recognize reality, and draw our consequences from it, in a sober way. In doing so we must not fear to hurt feelings, because lack of knowledge of the real situation would have fatal consequences. One example: in a paper that was meant for the clergy, and which outlined new forms of community service, a few examples of demoralization, which had been spread into the village by urban DP's, were mentioned in a short and matter-of-fact way. Only by these examples could the burning justification of the propositions emphasized in this paper be proved. The paper was submitted for inspection to representatives of the hierarchy before publication, and was condemned. Apparently, disturbances of the sort which might have been raised by such a publication were at all costs to be avoided. With all due respect, I would like to protest against such measures. The Catholic periodical's duty is, quite on the contrary, to give a true picture of present conditions according to its specific interests. It would be fatal were we trying to salvage traditional methods, which were valid enough in their day, and were we not to take into account the fact that meanwhile they have lost their *raison-d'être*.

Here is the point at which the conservative distinguishes himself from the reactionary, if, for once, I may use this slogan; and here it is that the

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essential task of the Catholic periodical lies. Each illusion, which confuses the real religious and moral realities involved in economic and social precepts, will be catastrophic, and will be bitterly avenged. Such illusions have to be destroyed so that the real methods can be investigated. Ivo Zeiger is completely right: the Church in Germany has to become a missionary Church, and a Church of that kind has to speak in a different way from the way in which the Church spoke formerly. The customary protestations against the phenomena of religious or moral decay, for instance, have become entirely theoretical, because they no longer can have any real effect. It does not make any sense to protest against chaos in the name of order. For chaos can only be fought by the formation of the healthy cells of a real order, and thus slowly can it be conquered. Only by work and examples can efficient answer be given to these phenomena of decay. Here the Catholic periodical has an extraordinarily important task. Education for a sober realism and the arousing of the forces which are equal to the solution of the enormous task of mission-work, watchful care for the German Occidental tradition, and faithful work towards the building of a better future, are all within its scope. Yet once again, I have to make a reservation, in speaking of a better future.

The Christian relation to the future, as a whole, is of a dialectical nature, being at the same time, optimistic and pessimistic. The Christian knows that Christian truth can renew the face of the earth, and it is the Christian's duty to help remould the things of this world in a Christian spirit. He knows that the world would resemble Paradise if it were perceived by the eyes of the children of God. But, at the same time, he knows too, that humanity will not advance to moral perfection, and that the last days will be enveloped in darkness. Moreover, he never knows when these last days shall have begun; he does not know whether he is living in their midst. This tension between optimism and pessimism the Christian can only endure by the help of the supernatural hope that Christ will return. Every Catholic periodical should live on this dialectical tight-rope without shifting the emphasis from hope to fear or vice-versa. I must confess that I always felt slightly that the title of a periodical like *Schoenerer Zukunft* (literally, "The More Beautiful Future") is a trifle heretical, for this title, alone, proves that too much emphasis has been shifted to the side of optimism. This false optimism has taken, in this case, bitter vengeance; it was just this which led the editor into grave trouble, because of which we must think of him with Christian charity. However, this memory is also a renewed challenge not to forget at any time the twofold balance to which a Catholic periodical is irrevocably committed. Thus, it is not a little thing which is required from an editorial staff, if it wishes to exercise the right influence on its readers. Futhermore, it depends upon its cooperation with its contributors, who, in their turn, must understand and realize fully the dialectic of the Christian attitude in public life. Therefore, it is among the most essential tasks of a Catholic periodical to create a staff of such contributors, and above all, to replenish it continually from the younger generation. The importance of this cannot be emphasized too often: let us have Catholic publicists, and then their organs of expression will provide themselves.

But this question already exceeds the frame of my theme. I therefore return to the main point by summing up: the task of the Catholic periodical is to be comprehensively Catholic, because the Catholic Church is not just one among other churches. Truth cannot be defended by those apologetics which were comprehensible in an epoch which was supported by a faith in science. Catholic truth today has to meet total disbelief, nihilism. Defense is not any more the order of the day; a total vacuum has to be penetrated. This can only be done by a sober knowledge of the real situation, leading us to the understanding that we have to face a missionary task. It is not by protestations that the mission will achieve its end, but by winning through by work and example. Our attitude in this matter must not be either optimistic or pessimistic, but must partake equally of both. We can only hope for a better future by our courageous readiness to face it even if it is shrouded in apocalyptic darkness. What, therefore, is the one thing necessary for a Catholic periodical? The Gospel, and an iron ration of theology. Is this trite? If it is, so much the better.

# The Polish Front

*The installation of the new Catholic Primate of Poland was to take place in the Cathedral of Gniezno on February 2nd. Bishop Stefan Wyszynski of Lublin was designated by Pope Pius XII to succeed the great Cardinal Hlond. The following report on the condition of the Church in Poland on the death of Cardinal Hlond is taken from a bulletin written in France by a Free Polish group in close touch with their homeland. The position and person of the Cardinals and Archbishops of Eastern Europe—a Stepinac, Mindszenty, Hlond—become ever more clearly facts of great human, historical and religious importance. It is interesting that the new Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, Primate of Poland (not now a Cardinal) is a man of only* 47

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*years of age; he was consecrated bishop by Cardinal Hlond only in* 1946; *he is a distant relative of Andrei Vyshinsky, Communist prosecutor and now Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.*—THE EDITORS.

★

WHEN Cardinal August Hlond died in Warsaw on October 22nd after a short illness, the Catholic Church in Poland found itself in very difficult circumstances, if not the most difficult it had faced in its almost thousand-year existence. The Polish Government, which was created under the instigations of Moscow and approved by the Western Powers at the time of the Yalta agreements, despite the hostile attitude of the great majority of the people, did not feel strong enough to take on the Church in outright combat. Its tendencies, however, were clearly anti-religious. The régime which had been imposed on the nation still had too many enemies to dare to attack the Catholic Church, whose dominant rôle in Polish life is reflected in secular traditions.

In order not to unloose popular resentment and reinforce the resistance of the Polish nation, which is sincerely attached to the Church (particularly the profoundly religious peasant masses), the régime first of all embarked on a policy of courting the Church. Not only did it offer full freedom for worship, but the properties of the Church were not expropriated. The representatives of the Government, although they were unbelievers and enemies of the Church, were ostentatious in taking part in religious ceremonies. In accordance with Polish traditions important public acts were preceded by solemn religious services. Chaplains were maintained in the army and even new chaplaincies were created in the Communist militia.

But these apparently friendly gestures failed to deceive the Polish clergy and hierarchy. From the very beginning the Catholic Church in Poland was distrustful of the régime, and its attitude was full of reserve. While recommending loyalty to governmental authority, the Church at the same time warned the faithful of the errors of the Marxist doctrines which the régime was propagating, and from the outset engaged in a struggle against these doctrines in the domain of ideas and general attitude toward life.

The succession of events has shown that the mistrust of the government on the part of the Catholic leaders in Poland was only too well founded. When the régime, after having eliminated and destroyed its political adversaries (the liquidation of the Mikolajczyk Party), felt that it was more solidly established, it turned against the Church. But even at that moment it did not dare to act openly: it began a campaign of attrition in order to weaken the Church, diminish its prominence in Polish life, limit its field of influence over society, and above all its influence with the youth of the land. The government resorted to a war of nerves. There were threats, attempts at intimidation and, at the same time, tempting promises which held out a prospect of harmonious cooperation between the Church and the "popular democracy."

The steps of this campaign to weaken the Church and secure its submission, gradually encircling it in a sort of iron ring, included denunciation of the Concordat—which deprived the Church of the protection of the law—secularization of the marriage laws, and a major campaign against the Church on the occasion of the pastoral letter from the Holy Father addressed to the German bishops in which the Pope expressed his compassion over the sufferings of millions of Germans expelled from the East.

Characteristically, and clearly for tactical reasons, the Communist Party in its attacks against the Church never went too far and always exercised a certain self-restraint. On the other hand, the Party brought into play in this systematic campaign, especially in all matters pertaining to anti-clerical activity, the Popular Party, that is to say the peasant party, which always and most slavishly follows directions given by its leaders, who are under the Communist thumb. As a result, with all the pressure of anti-Catholic propaganda and with the administrative measures aimed at weakening the Church, the situation of the Church in Poland is presented in this fashion: Freedom of worship has not been interfered with.

The Church still holds its properties but it expects to be dispossessed at any moment. Moreover, the influence of the Church has been greatly restricted in the education of youth and in the formation and strengthening of general social ideas by means of the press. The Catholic press is tolerated but suffers all sorts of difficulties, such as the arrest of collaborators with the editor, refusal of paper, etc. And it is kept at a great disadvantage.

Catholic schools are threatened. The Church has been deprived of every possibility of exercising its influence in unions and other professional organizations. The youth and "charitable" organizations created by the régime, not to speak of the political and administrative ones instituted at lower echelons, have an attitude toward the Church which if not expressly hostile is at least unfriendly. The administrative leaders, pretending beneficence quite in contrast with the attitude stimulated in the lower echelons by the higher-ups, are themselves not always able to maintain even appearances which are correct. That large part which the Church formerly took in works of charity is systematically restricted by the régime.

But despite these difficulties, and local govern-

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ment opposition, the Church organizations have registered considerable success. The Catholic idea develops and flourishes more abundantly than at the time of the nation's captivity and during its twenty years of independence. The current of religious life is deepened, and attachment to the Church is reinforced, for it is toward the Church that all eyes turn, seeing there the last bulwark of spiritual independence and a dyke standing against the flood waters of Communist barbarism, the refuge of independence, and the strongest link with the ideas and culture of the West.

The intrinsic value and moral authority of the Church in Poland have visibly grown in stature. In so far as the régime imposed on the country by Moscow is spiritually alien to her and hedges in the Catholic Church more and more, the Church gets wider and wider popular support, its words are repeated more and more widely, and all hopes converge on the Church. The conviction that the resistance of the nation depends on the survival of the Church is more deeply rooted, and it is a great weapon against spiritual sovietization.

In a word, one might say that up to now the Catholic Church is in a critical but not a desperate situation—a much better position not only than that in Yugoslavia but also than in Czechoslovakia where it is a minority, and in Catholic Hungary. But Polish Catholics well understand that the Church will be progressively menaced in the future, that perhaps the immediate future will bring heavier trials than has been their lot in the past. The recognition of this possibility has created an attitude filled with tension and anxiety.

In Poland there are only two forces now in existence which are independent of the régime: the peasants, and the Church. The régime has embarked on a struggle against the peasants in order to put them completely into subjection, and in recent months it has been speeding up this campaign. For tactical reasons the major battle against the Church is in all probability delayed for a while. But there is no doubt that this battle will take place and that the Government will not restrict itself to a campaign of attrition, to morals trials against the clergy almost identical in method with those of Hitler and intended to discredit priests and Religious.

The fact that the Church in Poland has not suffered the blows which have fallen in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary is due in large measure to the hierarchy, and primarily to Cardinal Hlond. Well before the war he was widely known as a distinguished organizer and administrator, a zealous propagator of Catholic doctrine and spirituality, a leading promoter of Catholic Action and equally as an alert political figure who was able to regulate expertly relations between Church and State. During the war, on the suggestion of the Nuncio, Cardinal Hlond left Poland; he intervened before the Curia in protest against the injustices and crimes committed against the Church by the German occupation forces. He was interned and held by the Nazis for some time, first in France and then in Germany.

After the liberation, Cardinal Hlond returned to Poland and took charge of the See of Gniezno and Warsaw. Not only because of his dignity as primate of the Church in Poland, but primarily because of his own personal stature, he was the head of the Catholic Church in Poland in the deepest and most comprehensive sense. His policy was characterized by a sense of balance joined to marked firmness, particularly where questions of principle and purity of doctrine were involved. It was on Cardinal Hlond's suggestion that the hierarchy published a series of pastoral letters condemning the ideology of Marx as a political and social doctrine, and condemning the efforts made by the Government to inculcate the philosophy of materialism in the youth of the land. Thanks to the fine sense of balance, marked tactical ability and the wisdom of Cardinal Hlond, the Catholic Church in Poland has thus far held off the blows which would be a grave threat to its existence. And on the other hand, the Church has extended its influence and is not only in a period of rebirth from the persecutions suffered during the occupation, but it radiates that influence throughout the nation as a symbol of patriotism and moral force.

# Economic Problems of West European Union

CLEMENT DE HAAS

FROM TIME to time Europe has had its good dreams of getting together and forming a real community. There was, for instance, "The Grand Design" of Henry IV of France for rebuilding the Commonwealth of Europe.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the vision of a united Europe frequently occurs in the writings of Montesquieu, Rousseau, Kant, St. Simon and many others. Yet, when after the Napoleonic wars an attempt was made to realize it in the "Holy Alliance," it quickly broke down. Less than twenty years ago M. Briand put forward a scheme for the economic union of Europe but this was smothered at birth. Europe was too deeply divided, too full of rivalry, suspicion and fear.

But the fact remains, that closer economic union in Western Europe is imperative to the survival and progress of European countries. Personally, I am for doing everything we can, as energetically as possible, to get the greater economic unity Western Europe has needed for a

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very long time. But after so many centuries, I would rather wait a few more months—or perhaps even a year—and get a sound, durable system of economic union, than spoil all our chances by a breakneck crash almost at the winning post. Converting many national economic systems into one system is a rather complicated affair.

The making of a customs-union has always taken many years, and that was in the past, when industry and communications had not made economic life yet so complex. For instance, the original thirteen American colonies had only three million persons spread over a coastal strip as long as from Brest to Murmansk, and yet it took from ten to eighteen years to make a customs-union, and that was 160 years ago. And the Prussian "Zollverein" took over thirty years before it became the customs-union of the German States and free cities in the eighteen-sixties. The British Commonwealth, too, is a kind of customs-union. It has varying tariffs in each country but a general preference system for trade within the Commonwealth. Yet that Commonwealth has taken over fifty years even to work out this system of tariff preferences. As for a unified currency in the Commonwealth—well, Canada's dollar has never been in the sterling area since England went off the gold standard in 1931. And South Africa's pound is half in the sterling area and half out. New Zealand's pound equals the English pound but Australia's pound is at a discount compared with the pound in London. All this takes a lot of Treasury and Bank experts very much time in London to handle Commonwealth problems of currency and finance—and even then mistakes are made and friction is caused between British nations.

Europe's problems are far more complex. Let us look first at the proposed Benelux customs-union. Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg came together during the recent war and agreed to work out a customs-union. The aim was and still is: to launch that Union on January 1st, 1950. But, during the past four years the Benelux countries have found greater difficulties than they expected. For instance, Holland has always depended far more than Belgium—and both of them depended far more than Luxemburg—on their rail, road and water traffic between the sea and Germany.

The Rhine outlets, the various canals, railway networks and so on, have developed for over a hundred years to serve the biggest and most dense industrial area in the world, the Ruhr. That economic basis of Dutch and Belgian life was badly shaken in World War I and broken to pieces by the second, which broke Germany's industrial and communications fabric. In October, 1948, the economic experts of Belgium and Holland estimated that after the war the Dutch lost $100,000,000 of transit traffic revenue alone in a year, to and from Germany, and that the Belgians lost $40,000,000 of transit traffic income a year.

All these items show that the economic life of one country is very different from that of his neighbor next door, even when those countries are similar in so many ways. That makes a customs-union or a currency and financial union, even between similar neighbors, very hard and slow to work out. Then there are differences of national financial systems. One country raises the bulk of its revenue from direct income-taxes and super-taxes, which people honestly declare and pay and the State tax collectors honestly collect.

Another country, next door, does not; so it has to rely on indirect taxes, levied on everything from matches to beer, cinema, radios and bicycles.

Or, one country has colonial territories outside Europe, its neighbor has not; so the two budgets, the two sets of foreign trade, even the two defense problems—with a consequent financial problem—will be unlike. It is very hard to make a sound and quick customs-union between countries with wide economic differences between them, even if they are neighbors.

*

The three Benelux countries have already found that one big difficulty facing them is the effect of their union on the capital invested in industries in each of their countries. In one of them a particular industry may have been protected by tariffs or other devices in the past; but in the neighboring country, that same industry is quite unprotected. What happens to such industries if a common uniform tariff is now set up? Or if there is in future no tariff at all? Consequently the union between the three Benelux countries itself is not planned to come about overnight, but over a period of years; the three countries' tariffs, import and licensing systems, currency controls, etc., are planned to arrive at a unified system gradually during these years. Otherwise, if everything happened overnight, chaos would result in one year after another—in one industry after another—no director knowing whether his firm could carry on under the new tariff duties or taxes or prices, or whether his opposite number in one of the other countries of the union would in future have to carry on that particular line of production. And there is another difficulty compared with fifty years ago. When all the neighboring countries making a customs-union are socialized states, each state then owns and runs various industries. Each state has a vested interest—namely, the public's capital—in continuing the socialized industries with as little change as possible.

But the only way to achieve union is by ruthless closing down of whole industries and units, here or there, in one country and the others—wherever production is clearly uneconomical—and transferring and retraining all the employees for other jobs. Many of us have experienced difficulties in our own countries since the war in moving men and capital from one trade into another. Just imagine the social and political upheavals that would be caused by international redistribution of both capital and labor, both factories and their workers.

In other words, we should build up the economic union of Western Europe logically, brick by brick, from below. The three Benelux countries have taken this slower but surer path.

And the experts of the seventeen West European countries have practically taken the same decision. And I think that they are right. According to my opinion,

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there are only two methods of bringing about a customs-currency union, in Western Europe. One is to clamp it all down on top of the various nations from above by some super-political act through some super-state: federal assembly, confederation of Europe or whatever it would be called.

And the second way is patiently to build up economic and currency union from below as the Benelux countries are doing. Industry by industry, item by item—making sure that you do not pass from item A to item C missing out item B. The first way—the quick political act imposed from above—will, I am sure, lead to such economic convulsions and distortions as will tear Europe farther apart, not make it more united.

There is no need to despair of Europe's economic future. But we shall make better and faster progress if we create our European unity industry by industry. Any other method to me spells an authoritarian political apparatus, imposed from above, to which our complex economic life—after 150 years—would have to be brought to fit. And I do not think that West Europeans would accept that. And there is no reason why they should accept it. Our economic partnership can be sounder and more efficient the other way.

*

*AT THE SAME time that the above generous and practical estimate of the economic conditions of "Western Union" arrived from Holland, the Washington publication,* Human Events, *published an article by Bertrand de Jouvenel concerned with the spirit and motive which must underlie creative efforts toward European union. The three paragraphs quoted below will show why we consider M. de Jouvenel's observations essential to a proper view of the problem and the opportunity.*

THE EDITORS.

WHOEVER SPEAKS of spiritual forces risks classification as unrealistic. But in truth nothing can be more unrealistic than to expect Western Union to be achieved by political means and under the motivation of a common interest. Our interests, which are apprehended in the short view, rather oppose than unite us. We compete for the grant of American dollars; we compete for the procurement of raw materials. The European Organization has very properly warned us that the world market for manufacturers, which has apparently not expanded since 1913, may prove unable to absorb, on top of American exports, the $9 billion worth of industrial goods we plan to sell by 1952 outside Europe and the U. S.

This gives occasion to think that between Europe and the U. S. and between the European exporters themselves, conflicts of interest will arise. The reappearance of German exports will certainly prove a cause of friction. Overall advantage will not reconcile us: already the proposed customs union between France and Italy has evoked an adverse vote of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the French Chamber. Nor will even the most vital interest unite us; that of common defense. For if Soviet attack is feared by a majority, it is hoped for by a strong minority in both France and Italy. And this minority sees national defense as a plot to destroy the fatherland of all workers. Reason by itself is powerless to overcome the resistance of prejudices and vested interests. There must be a sense of fellowship.

I have always felt that the tardiness of the European nations in absorbing the homeless deportees was not only a bad thing but a bad omen, displaying a lack of helpfulness, a disposition to close one's door in the face of misfortune which boded ill for Western Union. If this is to be achieved, we must be willing to take in poorer relations, former enemies and temperamental neighbors. And no one is going to do that except from an impulse of love. The problem then is far less a problem in constitutional adjustment than it is a problem in conversion. And that seems to be a matter for the churches and the intellectuals. The latter, especially, must cease to lend their talents to the justification of hatred, a cause to which they have greatly prostituted them. Probably a major crime of the century is the misuse of history, of the philosophy of history, of economics, and of sociology, to foster group hatred. Those, whatever their opinions and aims, who indulge in such practices, are the witches of today. As our principles entirely preclude that they should be silenced, they must be converted. That is the very first step towards European Union. . . .

# Communications

## COMMUNITIES vs. COLLECTIVISM

Bryan's Road, Maryland

TO the Editors: After reading THE COMMONWEAL of December 24, I might have exclaimed, *Et tu, Brute!,* for in that issue my friend Walter Marx comes out against the radical brand of Distributism espoused by David Hennessy, Graham Carey, and me, with the familiar wheezes about the opponents of mechanization not practicing what they preach (e.g., my car) and the horrible consequences of the abolition of machines (e.g., Walter's wife and children hitched to the plow). Graham Carey, I thought, answered such objections in a previous issue when he wrote:

> "However, we live at present in an industrial world, and a sudden disturbance of this world would cause starvation and catastrophe. . . . When we leave theory and come to practice we find that various compromises with the existing facts have to be made. . . . It is only too likely that many young enthusiasts for the sacred and traditional values in life as against the secular, for holiness as against unholiness, for art as against industrialism, will confuse means and ends and make serious errors of judgment. . . ." (THE COMMONWEAL, October 29).

Obviously it would take a generation or two to acquire the lost skills and re-make the tools of a handicraft age to a point where any group of our children no longer would need to rely upon the products of industrial society. Walter Marx has done a great service to all of

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us in his research and in his own pioneering in the techniques of individual decentralization. Men like Walter Marx, Milton Wend, and Ralph Borsodi, to my way of thinking, are doing what other sociologists ought to be doing—informing the public of the practical facts of decentralized living. But in condemning the rashness of the anti-industrial agrarians, Walter has insufficiently stressed one fact about tools. The fact is that the tools that make a handicraft agrarian society practicable recently existed but have disappeared, and the skill to use such tools has gone as well. For example, except in certain remote hill farming areas the cradle for harvesting small grain is unknown to farm folk in the United States. Trained oxen are no longer available, although an old neighbor of mine used them when a young man on his father's farm here in Charles County. In fact, the type of paraphernalia and techniques used in planting, cultivating, and harvesting small grains on such farms as that of my grandfather in Upstate New York are so rapidly disappearing in the United States that many an American farmer would not know how to farm if his machinery and power were to be taken away. But it is contrary to fact to assume that farming before the age of electricity and tractors was misery. As a boy on my grandfather's farm I lived comfortably without electricity, plumbing, and the automobile. Water was piped by gravity from a spring to a trough on the back porch, and this trough was our "cooler" for milk, meat, etc. I walked to a one-room school nearby. The house and the farm buildings were built for comfortable living without the products of modern industry to a surprising extent. Walter could visit a Hutterite colony, or possibly a strict order Amish settlement, and find good living without the blessings of modern industry. And, incidentally, he would find the diet far superior to that enjoyed even by us part-time farmers because of less reliance on highly processed factory foods.

Until groups of Catholics can in *community* gradually free themselves from dependence upon earning a living in and using the products of industrial society, we cannot expect to dispose of automobiles and electricity. In fact, we should promote the development of small machines and of electrical equipment to meet the special needs of the individual part-time farmer. And, it is no more inconsistent for an anti-industrial agrarian to use machinery than it is inconsistent for a Catholic opposed to racial segregation to hear Mass in a church where Negroes are segregated or for a vegetarian to eat meat on a desert island. But the Catholic back-to-the-land movement in the United States will not stand or fall on the development of the right kind of machines. In point of fact, the flight from the land in this country has been in large measure a quite proper revulsion to the social isolation and spiritual niggardliness of farm life. Farming in this country developed along capitalistic lines with each farmer on his solitary farmstead battling the elements, the market, and not infrequently, his neighbors. Until we Catholic back-to-the-landers develop communities (i.e., villages) such as can still be found in Europe, so that our social and religious life progresses together with tilling the soil, we cannot hope to accomplish much of lasting value.

I shall remain skeptical of Christian Industrialism combined with the Marx type of decentralization as a *long run* answer to the problem of the good society unless and until the following questions are answered:

> "(1) In the long run how can collectivism be avoided when the dwindling resources of the world and the increasing demands of industrial production plus the stupendous societal problems raised by such developments as television, rocket power, and atomic energy call for more and more coordination and control by the nation state and ultimately by the world state?
>
> "(2) How can the Sacred replace the Secular in our society so long as the factory system of production remains?"

ELBERT R. SISSON.

## INDIVIDUALISM AND "SUBSIDIARITY"

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: In my earlier reference to Dr. Walter Marx' review of Eugene Lyons' recent eulogy of Herbert Hoover I suggested that not all of Hoover's critics are malicious or politically motivated. Dr. Marx replies that he can't quite understand why I felt it necessary to cite the case of the late Monsignor John A. Ryan by way of illustrating my contention. Well, then, let's take another example, the distinguished Australian Catholic, Paul McGuire, who knows the United States rather intimately but would not be suspected by anyone of having any personal or political axe to grind. This is what he says about Hoover in his recent book, "There's Freedom for the Brave":

> The Hoover régime is the classic instance of what happens when business captures the State. Both (the other being Henry Ford senior) are warnings and omens of what happens when the polity and economy throw off moral and intellectual order.
>
> The sun of Hoover prosperity shone for rather less than ten months. It went down over Wall Street in the last week of October, 1929.
>
> Mr. Hoover and his friends served according to their lights. They were, like the rest of us, moving in universal confusion. We are still mazed in it.

Perhaps that saving phrase, "like the rest of us," will take the curse off McGuire's indictment and make it seem less personal. I hope so, for who am I—or who is McGuire—to be passing judgment on the motives of Mr. Hoover or anybody else? That simply isn't the issue, or at least it shouldn't be.

Incidentally—and this must serve, for the sake of brevity, as my reply to Dr. Marx' comments on the "principle of subsidiarity"—McGuire's book is a passionate warning against the dangers of the Servile State, which Dr. Marx is so legitimately worried about. The difference between Mr. McGuire and Dr. Marx, as perhaps between myself and Dr. Marx, is that McGuire,

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in contrast to Dr. Marx, is inclined to think that the Hoover philosophy (using the term in an impersonal sense) will be judged to have had a lot to do with preparing the way for the Servile State, should it ever come to pass, and that consequently the remedy is not to be found in the hair of the dog that bit us (speaking again impersonally, of course). McGuire prefers to put his hope—he says it's our only hope—in a program of organized economic cooperation that sounds for all the world like the so-called Industry Council plan which has recently been advocated again by the American Bishops. Whether or not this plan can be reconciled with the type of individualism which Walter Marx approvingly identifies with the Hoover philosophy is for him, rather than myself, to say.

REV. GEORGE G. HIGGINS.

# The Labor Movement

## The WFTU Hits the Rocks

THE WORLD Federation of Trade Unions has finally hit the rocks and split in two. At a meeting of the executive committee in Paris on Jan. 19 the pro-Communist wing edged the anti-Communist wing 4 to 3, thereby defeating a motion to kill the WFTU in slow motion, i.e., by suspending its activities for a year.

That vote was the signal for the Americans (CIO), the British and the Dutch to get to their feet and say goodbye. The Russians, the Italians, the Chinese and Louis Saillant, the French general secretary who cast the deciding vote, all remained, so that now the WFTU is virtually a 100 percent Stalinist front, instead of being only about 60 percent as it was before.

The secessionists, together with the AFL and other non-Communist labor federations, will undoubtedly form a new international organization in the near future.

It is ironic that Louis Saillant cast the deciding vote at Paris, because it was the choice of Saillant for the key job—a stupid and quite unnecessary move—which sowed the seeds of the WFTU's disintegration right at the beginning, back in London in February of 1945.

This is how it happened. Up to that time there had been the International Federation of Trade Unions, an outfit controlled by and consisting mainly of the Social Democrats and the AFL. As a result of the war there was a lot of feeling in England and throughout Europe that the Russians should be admitted to an international labor organization. After all, if they were good enough for the United Nations, if they were good enough to die fighting the Nazis, why weren't they good enough and so on. It was an argument with superficial appeal.

The AFL had successfully fought to keep the Soviet unions out of the IFTU on the ground that, as organizations totally dominated by a dictatorial government, they had no more right than a Fascist union in the same federation with free labor. The AFL had also fought successfully to keep the CIO out of the IFTU, and by 1945 the CIO was so determined to get in that it was willing

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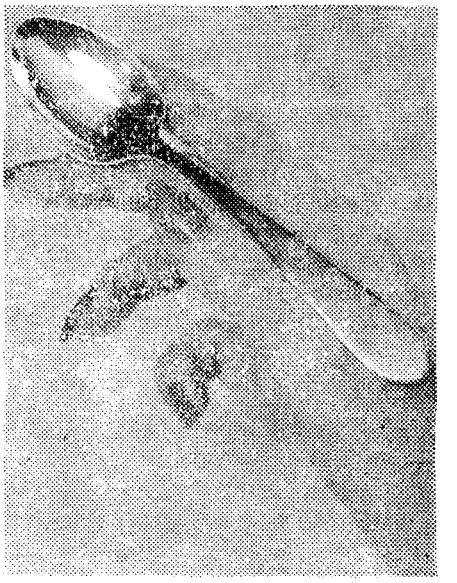

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to work with the Russians to insure that end.

Finally, there was growing dissatisfaction with the somewhat stodgy, do-nothing record of the IFTU under its Belgian secretary, the Social Democrat Schevenels. At any rate, for all these reasons the British began to weaken and took the initiative in calling a big conference in London to which all the labor organizations were invited, even including the Catholic unions of the Continent. The AFL hotly refused the invitation.

It was actually the CIO that had the balance of power. Funny thing, if Walter Reuther had replaced R. J. Thomas as president of the Auto Workers a few years earlier, perhaps things would never have worked out as they did. R. J. was one of the top CIO delegates and his profound ignorance of European labor plus his bumbling confidence that the Stalinists could be safely used were more or less typical of the CIO *delegation*. Hillman was there, but he too was passing through his united front stage and his knowledge of international labor developments appeared to be scarcely less skimpy than Thomas's.

*

The big fact in the situation, of which few were properly aware, was that the French CGT was in the process of swinging solidly into the Communist camp. On the other hand, the CIO delegates were supersensitively aware of the fact—which was not a fact at all, but simply a fear—that unless they got the headquarters and the secretariat away from the old IFTU crowd they might still be frozen out. Even the British they did not trust.

So they kidded themselves into believing that Saillant, whom the French and the Russians were pushing, was a middleroader who could be tossed aside if he leaned too far toward the Stalinist camp. They also backed the move to make Paris the temporary headquarters of the new federation. Finally, they failed to put up a fight for the admission of the Catholic unions with the representation which they insisted upon, and deserved.

It was amazing. Here the Russians had been pounding on the door for years, literally howling without the gates for a bone, a crust of bread, anything. And there in London, within the space of a few days, the doors were thrown open, they were presented with the keys to the city and assured control of the city hall. It was probably the easiest revolution ever recorded.

The awakening of the CIO was slow—about three years in all. But awake it did. For the past year it has been maneuvering toward the events of Jan. 19, working closely at all times with the British. One thing has been gained. The CIO can now be sure that it will always be a member of an international labor federation if it so desires. It has been bested by the Commies and perhaps that qualifies it for international recognition. The AFL should have learned something too, namely, that the dog in the manger sometimes winds up on the outside looking in. And the Commies? They have got themselves one slightly chipped, slight battered international labor federation (membership about 40,000,000) all for their very own.

JOHN C. CORT.

# *The Stage & Screen*

## *Brief Listing*

*The Shop at Sly Corner*: No "January Bargain" I'm afraid. Boris Karloff, Ethel Griffies, Una O'Connor, and particularly the young Jay Robinson, spend care and skill nursing a halting thriller from England. A number of poison arrows, a sliding wall, plus some specious armorial equipment are thrown in for good measure. The result is sad, and certainly puzzling, producing. (*at the Booth*)

*Along Fifth Avenue*: The merchandising business again, and if ever a good subject for a revue was wasted, here it is. There is neither wit, nor salience in the movers' attack, and a good bit of talent is scattered. On the pictorial end, Oliver Smith and David FFolkes have this time descended to the bottom of the class. However, I thought Jackie Gleason again very funny; Viola Essen and Johnny Coy intrepid dancers; and a short number by Philip Kadison and Thomas Howell at least provocative of an idea. A poor show. (*at the Broadhurst*)

*N. Y. City Ballet*: Lincoln Kirstein's excellent young company offering a short mid-winter season at the City Center. Maria Tallchief and Todd Bolender especially are dancing brilliantly this year, and with this group you get the very best of Ballanchine, plus all of the younger composers and the most recent Stravinsky. I should star the forthcoming Spring program, I think, as important entertainment. (*at the City Center*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

## Shivering in Your Boots

WHEN IT comes to displaying violence and fear caused by violence, movies are likely to be at their best. Frequently they even overcome story weaknesses and give you a good scare. This week we are considering four such new films that don't advance cinematic art an iota but give your goose pimples a vigorous workout.

Although *"Act of Violence"* does not have a great deal of violence in it, it is chock full of scary situations; and thanks mainly to Director Fred Zinnemann you are able to overlook the implausibilities of plot as you run with the central character through a frightening city of dreadful night. Essentially this is a chase film: Robert Ryan, determined on revenge, pursues Van Heflin who, during the last war, committed the crime of squealing on several fellow prisoners who were escaping from a Nazi prison camp. (At the time, Heflin thought he did this to save these men's lives; now he realizes he did it to gain favors from his captors.) Drawn into this Ryan-versus-Heflin conflict are three women: Janet Leigh, as Heflin's wife who has a problem of her own when she learns the truth about her husband but still wants to protect him and her child and herself, Phyllis Thaxter as Ryan's fiancee who wears herself out trying to dissuade this man from vengeance, Mary Astor as the tramp who picks up Heflin at a bar and tries to help him by introducing him to thugs who will dispose of Ryan. It isn't

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so much *what* happens to these people, but *how* it happens, that makes this film so exciting. The acting is good throughout; and Zinnemann uses actors and settings effectively to work up an atmosphere of terror. You may even get as frightened as Heflin when he flees through dark, night-scary Los Angeles.

*"The Man from Colorado"* is a post-war thriller too—post Civil War. It tells the story of two friends (Glenn Ford and William Holden) who become enemies not so much because they love the same girl (Ellen Drew) but more because Ford who was a colonel gets punch drunk with power. Made a Federal Judge in the Colorado Territory, Ford does a good job at first, but soon, impressed with his own importance and demoralized by his ruthless killing during the late war, he goes berserk; and it is up to Holden to save the oppressed miners—as well as the girl whom Ford married. After a lot of melodramatics, Holden does both of these things. All this is very exciting and is toned up with some worthy social-conscious stuff. One thing is made clear by the film: if this had happened several wars later, Ford would have been turned over to a good psychiatrist.

The English have sent us a couple of pictures that are bubbling with a well-mannered English idea of violence. *"This Was a Woman"* has a "Craig's Wife" theme carried to a much farther psychopathic degree. The wife and mother, effectively played by Sonia Dresdel, becomes so overwhelmed by a power complex that her petty meanness (first exhibited in killing her husband's dog) finally gets out of control, and she not only tries to ruin her daughter's marriage, but she actually poisons her own husband. Perhaps something could have been done with this theme in the movies; but the script in this case is so silly and Tim Whelan's direction of it is so utterly without understanding of cinema technique that the whole melodrama becomes a joke. Furthermore the cast aren't too sure of what's required of them; all of which must prove something: mainly that even violent themes need skillful handling.

Another English film, *"Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill,"* for which L. A. G. Strong wrote a good script from Hugh Walpole's novel, handles similar material admirably. The locale is an English public school dominated by a tyrannical and sadistic headmaster (Raymond Huntley). The masters fear him even more than the boys do; and in this unhealthy atmosphere, one housemaster, Mr. Perrin (Marius Goring) has become an old-maidish neurotic who practices some of the headmaster's tyrannies in his own petty way. To this school comes Mr. Traill (David Farrar) who refuses to have his spirit broken; and in no time he and Perrin are in conflict. Director Lawrence Huntington has portrayed the background of English public school life exceedingly well, and the cast is excellent. Admirers of "Chips" may be a bit taken aback at this realistic display of the meanness that sometimes pervades such a society, but they will be cheered by the breath of fresh air that Traill introduces to this stagnant place. The climax, that comes when Perrin sees his world falling down about him, especially when Traill wins the woman (Greta Gynt) whom Perrin has been eyeing for years, is a little overdramatic, but its psychology is sound; and the film ends effectively on a hopeful note. In this picture are only a couple of scenes of actual violence, but Director Huntington has succeeded in showing how violence and fear cause the disintegration of a personality and even of a once-sound institution.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

## APPEALS

FROM time to time THE COMMONWEAL publishes the addresses of worthy individuals and religious houses where the need is urgent. A priest who is a refugee from Silesia tells of the lack of clothing and food among his people in Bavaria: "Beside my parish work among the DP's I am in charge of four charity homes for the aged. They are entirely occupied by refugees between the ages of 60 and 90 . . ." His address and two others:

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Katholischer Caritasverband
Spiegelgasse 211, Landshut, Bavaria
American Zone, Germany

Sister Marie Aimee
Salesianerkloster
Rennweg 10
Vienna 3, Austria

Sister M. Mathilde
Graue Schwestern
Lindenstrasse 7
Kiel, Br. Zone, Germany

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# CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL NEWS

### *Reorganization of Italian Christian Democrats*

Rome, 1/22 (CIP)—An "Organizing Assembly" is now being held by Italian Christian Democrats to prepare for the national Congress scheduled for spring, which may draw up a new party statute. The need for reorganization developed from the threatened split by the left wing.

One group, consisting mainly of those in power, considers a political party primarily as an electoral committee. It claims that the basis of the party is to be found in the centers active only during crucial periods, such as elections and its primary purpose is to publicize the names of candidates and to work to get them elected. On this view, the conduct of the party will be left at other times in the hands of those elected.

The opposing view, represented for the most part by those members of the left wing associated with Gronchi, Ravaioli and Dossetti, conceives of the party as a permanent organization, dedicated to winning members and educating them politically with the aim of enlisting the active participation of all citizens in politics. To achieve this, the left wing group has recommended the adoption of proportional representation as the method of electing delegates to the various party congresses and councils.

The advantage of such a system, according to its proponents, is that it would make for greater party responsibility in that the delegates would not stand as individuals but as representatives of tendencies within the party. The left wing Christian Democrats especially emphasize this point, since they claim that the labor element within the party has not been adequately represented.

The proposal for proportional representation has not been well received within the party by others than the left wing group. Opponents fear that the P.R. proposal would make for greater disunity.

### *Catholics and Protestants in Soviet Zone*

Berlin, 1/22 (CIP)—In Thuringia, Soviet Zone of Germany, the influx of thousands of refugees from the East, particularly Silesia, East Prussia, and Czechoslovakia, has had the effect of strengthening religious forces. At a time when Communist "reforms" in education and other factors would be expected to have weakened religion, the report claims: "Although the plight of the people expelled from the East is tragic, it has had one good consequence: It has been a tonic for religious life.

In Thuringia, where almost the entire population used to be Protestant, the number of Catholics has tremendously increased as a result of the arrival of many Catholic refugees. The few Catholic churches are always overcrowded. Where no church or emergency chapel is available, Protestant village churches are being used so that the Catholics are able to attend Mass almost every Sunday in the village where they live or in some neighboring village. The fact that this is possible marks an amazing change. Even three years ago, in Thuringia, Saxony, Holstein and Mecklemburg, a Catholic would have been regarded with suspicion and distrust. Now it has become a normal thing for Protestant clergymen and church councils to offer their churches for Catholic services. It has also become normal procedure for Catholic Bishops, on their confirmation trips, to call on the dignitaries of the Protestant Church, to thank them for their help and kindness."

The Protestant Relief Organization and the Catholic "Caritas" co-operate closely. Refugees, returning prisoners and old people are taken care of without any religious discrimination. This, the report concludes, has had the result that "the mentality of the average Protestant in these parts and his attitude towards Catholics have changed completely. Such formerly common expressions as "Don't take me for a Catholic," i.e., "a fool," are no longer heard. Attendance at Protestant religious services is much better than before, a fact that some attribute to the example of the Catholics. The people know that a great deal of suffering has been alleviated in recent years through the cooperation of the Churches.

### *South African Natives Held Unity Meeting*

Cape Town, 1/20 (CIP)—A meeting of negro leaders to foster closer unity among the native races of the Union of South Africa was held one month before the Durban race riots (January 15). According to *The Southern Cross,* Catholic weekly published here, the Negro leaders failed to achieve unity on all points desired. The meeting is believed to have had no connection with the recent riots.

The fact that Negro leaders are attempting to unite has aroused fears in European quarters. Commenting on the meeting, *The Southern Cross* stated: "It is feared . . . that if the natives of South Africa become more fully race-conscious, then from their unity will be born a strength with which the white man simply will not be able to cope. . . . Sooner or later the native races will arrive at such a unity. If they are driven to it by injustice, or what they consider is injustice, then it will be all the worse not only for the white man but for the nation as a whole, for power stimulated by bitterness and distrust will be in its own turn unreasonable. Commonsense, therefore, should urge the Europeans not to provoke the native races, not to make enemies. Unfortunately, the present tendency is just along these lines. The native is spoken of and treated as if he were an enemy, when he is not, but rather a potential fellow-citizen. Justice and decency alike revolt at this attitude of some Europeans, but their voices are not heard —perhaps the warnings of plain common-sense will carry more weight."

### *First Catholic High School in Transjordan*

Amman, 1/18 (CIP)—The first Catholic high school in Transjordan was recently opened here under the direction of the Franciscan Order. The faculty is composed of English Fathers from Liverpool. It is expected that an American Franciscan will be added to the faculty soon. The Franciscans have been working in Egypt, Palestine and Syria for the last 600 years. The new high school, which will be devoted to Catholics of both the Latin and Greet rites, is the Order's first institution in Transjordan.

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# Books

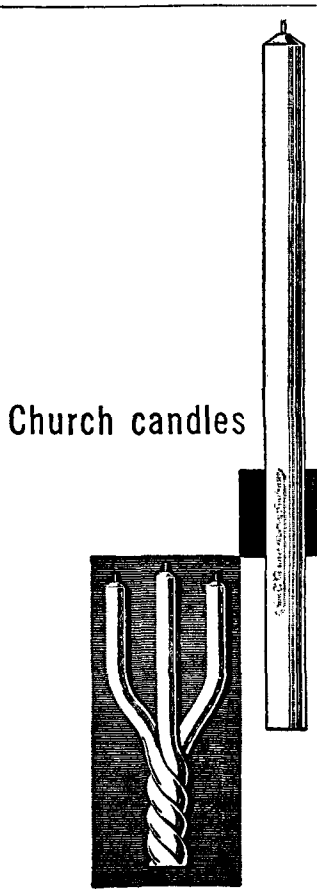
*From Day to Day. Odd Nansen. Putnam.* $5.00.

I SUPPOSE that the "sighing of the prisoners" is a recurrent literary theme for two main reasons. The virtually complete defenselessness of the incarcerated brings out in their captors the extremes of human wickedness—bestiality, inhumanity, craven cowardice, treachery—as well as the reaction of indomitable fortitude and the will to survive on the part of surprisingly many unfortunates. And in rare instances heroic charity of epic dimensions. Then, coupled with this relationship of abject servitude is the fact that those behind bars have been transported to a new mode of existence—a world of regularity and monotony, without personal responsibilities or family ties. An existence, in short, which often provides a degree of security (grim and bleak as it is) not found in the workaday world, and which for that and other reasons, dulls ambition—except to survive—and the various senses to a terrifying degree.

Both elements are prominent in this straight, if somewhat abridged diary of the son of a celebrated Norwegian explorer arrested as a hostage by the Germans in January, 1942. His almost daily entries cover over three years and nearly five hundred book pages. As a prisoner near home in Norway itself—and even in a northern summer work camp—the author and his compatriots received treatment that was comparatively mild and had little contact with prisoners from other nations. Nansen was well supplied with food and tobacco, often went to town on purchasing expeditions and had frequent visits from his beloved wife and children. He did encounter, of course, scattered individual instances of brutality, but then he was transported to Sachsenhausen, one of the more notorious German camps, in October, 1943.

From then on the diary develops a mounting crescendo of horror; even to this day the pitch of inhumanity reached at Dachau, Belsen, Auschwitz, Lublin and other Nazi places of prolonged torture and death is unbelievable. Toward the end of Nansen's narrative outrage is piled upon outrage in the same way that corpses and the wasted bodies of the dying were heaped upon one another indiscriminately. Yet, there was one last visitation upon the pitiful Poles, Russians, Ukrainians and others that in some ways was the most damnable of all. When, as the German armies retreated, the Danes and Norwegians, under the tutelage of the intervening Swedish Red Cross, were moved into Neuengamme concentration camp, they were assigned to a building already crammed with disease-ridden hulks of humanity. What did they do with this "hell of filth" but scrape, wash and disinfect it clean and turn out its pitiful inmates to immediate death, transport to a death camp or the heightened agony of further crowding.

As Nansen says: "Here come thousand after thousand of 'well-fed' Norwegians and Danes . . . and to make room for us, many times that number of other prisoners . . . have to clear out of their blocks and squeeze together in rooms that were overcrowded already. There are three, four, five of them in every bunk, and the bunks are eighty centimeters [32 inches] wide. Now every Norwegian and every Dane is to have his bunk; one man in each bunk! . . . It was we who took their huts and bunks

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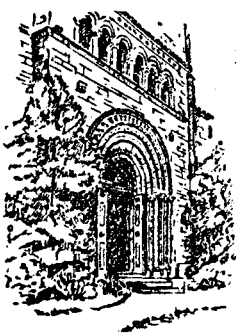

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from them, we who drove them out of house and home, out on a transport. And what a transport means to them, they know all too well."

This appalling incident reflects that other leading aspect of prison life: demoralization. This is a subject which consistently interests the author, although religion apparently does not. The question arises in a myriad of ways from the first days of capitivity, when unending days of forced idleness take their deadly toll, to the deep winter days when the Norwegians feast, play and sing with naked, starving and the dying of other national groups on their very threshold. Not only certain individuals who under such conditions bundled into two shifts of heavy clothing and salted away enough from food parcels to last for weeks, but the group as a whole became callous to the agonies of Jews and other "inferior" peoples and looked upon it as a right that their Nordic captors should treat them as a highly favored class. These well-fed and well-treated prisoners had reached the point where they would witness the most brutal executions without protest (of course the one heroic Dutchman who did cry out in indignation was eventually done away with.) This is not to say that there were not many individual risks taken and acts of kindness.

As Nansen says: "For it is not only the corpses of human beings which are burnt and annihilated here. . . . On this battlefield the young faith and enthusiasm of thousands has gone under as well, the vital spark of thousands has been quenched in darkness and brutishness. Ideals have vanished; human kindness has turned to ice in many a heart; faith in the future, the will and force for good have withered as the muscles wither up to useless, dry tissues in the skeleton bodies. . . . Of all mass murders, this is perhaps the worst."

But to return to those warmly clothed, well-fed and well-stocked captives who became oblivious to the terrible clamor of the battered, freezing, starving, dying fellowmen encountered in every direction. Are they not a symbol? Would there not be more hope in this prison of a world, which shelters us for a time, if many more—specifically in the United States—who are now living on a scale unparalleled in history outside a few royal palaces, would genuinely share their store with forsaken fellowmen in other lands? That is one of the inevitable questions raised by Odd Nansen's powerful book.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN.

*The First Romantics. Malcolm Elwin. Longmans.* $3.50.

THE IDEA which inspired the writing of *The First Romantics* is an attractive one. Since Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey were long so closely associated in their life and work, why not write a collective biography of them instead of three separate ones? And who ought to be better fitted to write that biography than Mr. Elwin, author of the definitive life of Landor and of a short life of De Quincey—to mention only his work on the Romantic period?

Unfortunately for their would-be biographer, these three poets were as different from one another as it is possible for any three men of the same generation to be. Mr. Elwin, an Englishman who is proud of his prejudices, finds only Coleridge sympathetic; it is inevitable, therefore, that he should do less than justice to his subject as a whole. Nobody, doubtless, could be just to Southey—a fundamentally upright man, but one wholly

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lacking in warmth or humor. Wordsworth—superficially so like Southey—cannot be treated so cavalierly, however. It is an admission of failure on the biographer's part to upbraid Wordsworth for his hypocrisy, as Mr. Elwin does, without endeavoring to penetrate and unravel the complexities of a character which is essentially no less involuted than Coleridge's and just as well worth the unravelling. Mr. Elwin's two main charges against Wordsworth are: first, his conduct and concealment of the Annette Vallon liaison; second, his celebrated political apostasy. Neither of these can be justified, perhaps, but they can at least be explained with more charity and insight than Mr. Elwin brings to bear on them.

Having indicated what the book fails to do, I must hasten to point out some of its positive achievements. The account of the inception and abandonment of Southey and Coleridge's project for founding a "pantisocratic" colony in America is clearer—and probably fairer to all concerned—than any other we have seen. Coleridge is revealed throughout the book as the tragic figure he undoubtedly was, rather than as the pathetic weakling of more conventional literary history. A better sense of the interrelationship of the three poets' early lives than any single biography could supply is unquestionably given. Finally, the book as a whole conveys a dramatic feeling of the inevitability with which the lone pioneer of new modes of thinking, feeling, living, is ultimately either reabsorbed into society or forced by it to sacrifice much of his normal human birthright.

VIVIAN MERCIER.

*Paul Cezanne. John Rewald. Simon & Schuster.* $5.00. *Cezanne. Bernard Dorival. Continental Book Center.* $12.50.

BOOKS still multiply about Cezanne. A dozen years ago Lionello Venturi compiled an enormous *catalogue raisonné* as if to make a landmark for the ages. Then a younger man, John Rewald, unearthed many new letters between Cezanne and Zola and thus considerably modified the image of the painter. Even the drugstore trade now gets its capsule biographies. Soon, unless we are careful, Hollywood will learn that a great drama was enacted in the life of the French painter—and then surely a beatification will be ours.

Meantime, still further studies attest that Cezanne was the mountain-peak down which most subsequent art has trickled. Mr. Rewald, for instance, revising his earlier investigation and casting it at last into English, has reinforced a steadily growing impression—that Cezanne, far from getting help through Zola, actually fought to his eventual eminence with very little help from that writer. In fact, the present volume might almost be taken as a case-study in how the literary mind fails to apprehend the painter's intention. For Zola, who had known Cezanne ever since tramping about with him as a schoolboy, who also had urged him to come to Paris, and who later had mentioned him in his first forays at art criticism, gradually fell away from his companion and eventually would do a novel, *L'Oeuvre,* which fractured forever their friendship. Even so, they had been intimately knit for 30 years. Yet what is extraordinary—and this Mr. Rewald's biography persistently emphasizes—was that Zola never really had an eye for what his friend was doing. Cezanne might have been in the Kingdom of the Blind, so far as Zola's comprehension was concerned. And he might have been among the bats


# PAUL to PERRIN

Hearing that Father Perrin had been given the sack from his factory for "incompetence" lately, made us wonder suddenly whether St. Paul, also a priest-workman (a bishop-workman, in fact), was ever faced by a furious customer bringing back a leaky tent. A few of his business letters would be nice to have, wouldn't they? Failing that, **Robert Sencourt's** book **ST. PAUL** ($3.50)—which brought this on—gives an astonishing amount of information about him, his times and his writings. The book is third in the series Great Writers of the World, and treats St. Paul as an author who had a much more exciting life than most of them do, rather than as a saint—but, naturally, without forgetting that he was a saint. By good luck, Robert Sencourt not only has a scholar's knowledge of St. Paul's period, but has also traveled extensively in the countries through which St. Paul's journeys took him. Best of all, he really *likes* St. Paul.

Let no one scoff, by the way, at **Father Perrin** for getting the sack, unless he has tried working in a factory all day and working as a priest most of the night. His book, in case you haven't had it—we know lots of people who are interested in it haven't had it yet, because it keeps on selling—is called **PRIEST-WORKMAN IN GERMANY** ($2.50), and its companion, for a quick look at the whole movement, is **Robert Kothen's THE PRIEST AND THE PROLETARIAT** ($1.50).

In case you have been waiting to see what the reviewers said about **Msgr. Knox's** translation of **THE OLD TESTAMENT** (Vol. I: Genesis to Esther is the part that is ready) before splashing a whole $7.00 on it, here are three comments to help you decide:

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so far as the rest of his generation went. Exhibiting in 1874 with the Impressionists, he withheld his pictures in 1876, though once more (and for a last time) participating in their show of 1877. He continued to visit Renoir and Monet, he still adored the patriarchal Pissarro, but his was another way. On the blazing fields of Provence, in the cooler summers along the Oise, in a galley-slave's penitential labor at Paris, Cezanne slowly wrought out the testament of his conviction. But Zola never knew—nor did the majority of Cezanne's fellow-painters. Only after a show in 1895 did the younger men begin to salute him. Still later they would completely reshape Western painting as the result of his testimony.

Seldom have the cost and the glory of that accomplishment been better depicted than in the critical study by Bernard Dorival, Conservateur of the Modern Museum in Paris. Generalizing with the usual French combination of tact and lucidity, he sorts out the painter's life into periods of apprenticeship, first work, Impressionist impact, classic maturity and baroque old age. These categories mark out a fresh understanding, for he can fully underscore Cezanne's groping while still overshadowed by his father in Provence, his subsequent torment to master his medium, his initial upward steps as a co-Impressionist, his impetuous assault upon the upper peaks and eventually his apotheosis both in the minds of his younger contemporaries and the reiterated exaltation of his own experience. Step by step the French museum official has recorded this journey—and thus sprung a new growth, as it were, from the biographical loam of Rewald and the special cultivation of Venturi. His book is abundantly and usefully illustrated and it should prove indispensable. If combined with the capably annotated—though somewhat unimaginative—treatment of Rewald, it should give more support to the whole cause of modern art. Even the nibblers now trying to undermine this achievement in America will have some difficulty in undoing what Messrs. Dorival and Rewald have reaffirmed. For it still can be said that Cezanne was the Primitive of the Way—and that his way, despite all antagonists, will yet be rediscovered for some time to come.

JEROME MELLQUIST

*Iran Past and Present. Donald N. Wilber. Princeton University Press.* $3.00.

SINCE some thirty thousand American soldiers arrived in Persia during the Second World War to speed our war supplies from the Persian Gulf by railroad or highway to the Soviet Union, public interest remains focused on this strategic country, which in the post-war years played an important rôle in the tension between Moscow and Washington. William S. Haas, the founder of the Museum of Persian Ethnology and Anthropology in Teheran, published three years ago a popular book on "Iran" (the official name of the country which is slowly replacing in the Western World the time-honored Persia). Haas's scholarly but badly organized work is not very practical for reference purposes. Therefore Wilber's compact and informative book, factual rather than interpretive, will be welcomed by all who look for practical information on the ancient land of Cyrus and Darius. Haas's chapters on the religious and cultural life are more profound, but if you seek understanding of current happenings in Iran—details about foreign trade, communications, financial institutions, the educational system, trade unions, the government—Wilber's book will prove a mine of knowledge.

Donald N. Wilber was between 1935 and 1939 a member of four American expeditions to Iran and was a resident of Iran from 1942 until 1946. Thus his book is based on extensive knowledge of the country, including the use of Persian-language books of information.

Iranians are much more familiar with the United States than Americans are with Iran. It may impress you to hear of the great influence of Hollywood films and to learn that Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People* sold several thousand copies in a Persian edition.

American missionary schools had a remarkable influence; but in 1940 all foreign-run schools were taken over by the Iranian government.

The book is supplemented by some excellent photographs and a map.

MAX FISCHER.

*Land of Milk and Honey. W. L. White. Harcourt.* $3.00.

THIS IS, indeed a readable and useful book, using the technique which is known in sociology as a "cultural anthropology" approach and which is becoming more and more popular not only in social sciences but also in interpreting world politics. In a nutshell, White describes the Soviet behavior in terms of comparison to the American (in some parts, European, and particularly, Rumanian) "way of life." This is done by using as the starting point the life of a young Russian pilot who grew up under the Soviet system of government, and first saw the outside world during the war. Finally, oppressed by the contrast between the political atmosphere in the USSR and the freedom of the West, he chose to desert to the Americans and seek sanctuary in this country. It is true that White emphasizes certain differences only, and to the exclusion of others. But, from an over-all point of view, he has done a fine job; his work will go a long way in clearing up many points of the Soviet methods which have been bothering the average man during the last three post-war years.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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